

### Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity

Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Incarnation"

The Muslim thinker Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq lived in ninth-century Baghdad. He is remembered for his extensive knowledge of non-Muslim religious communities and his unorthodox views on Islam itself. This book presents an edition and translation of Abū 'Īsā's Against the Incarnation, the second and last part of his Refutation of the Three Christian Sects. It is edited and translated by David Thomas and contains the Arabic text alongside the English translation, together with explanatory notes. Dr Thomas' full introduction outlines the pluralist and multi-faith society of medieval Baghdad, and places Abū 'Īsā in the context of both Muslim theological argument and Christian–Muslim discussions. In this way it demonstrates the author's originality and his influence on later Muslim authors. The book will serve as a companion to the editor's earlier volume, Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Trinity", which was published in 1992.

DAVID THOMAS is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham. His publications include *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam: AbūʿĪsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Trinity"* (1992), and *Syrian Christians under Islam, the First Thousand Years* (2001).

## CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-81132-3 - Early Muslim Polemic Against Christianity: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Incarnation" Edited by David Thomas Frontmatter More information



University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 59

Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity

A series list is shown at the back of the book

## CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-81132-3 - Early Muslim Polemic Against Christianity: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Incarnation" Edited by David Thomas Frontmatter More information



# Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity

Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Incarnation"

edited and translated by DAVID THOMAS





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521811323

© Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge 2002

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

ısвn 978-0-521-81132-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables, and other factual information given in this work is correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.



### CONTENTS

Preface p	age ix
INTRODUCTION	
1. Christians and Muslims in early Islamic Society	3
2. Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and the study of religions	21
3. The doctrine of the Incarnation in the time of Abū 'Īsā	37
4. Abū 'Īsā's refutation of the Incarnation	60
AL-RADD 'ALĀ AL-ITTIḤĀD: AL-JUZ' AL-THĀNĪ MIN KITĀB AL-RADD 'ALĀ AL-THALĀTH FIRAQ MIN AL-NAṢĀRĀ THE REFUTATION OF THE UNITING: THE SECOND PART OF THE REFUTATION OF THE THREE CHRISTIAN SECTS	
THEIR TEACHINGS ABOUT THE UNITING	86
THE ARGUMENT AGAINST THEM ABOUT THE UNITING AN	D
THE BIRTH	96
The Trinity and the uniting	96
The uniting and the human experiences of the Messiah	106
1. Against the Nestorians and the Jacobites	106
i. The conception and birth	106
ii. The crucifixion and death	116
2. Against the Melkites	124
i. The conception and birth	124
ii. The crucifixion and death	154
THE ARGUMENT AGAINST THEM CONCERNING THEIR	
MODELS OF UNITING	164
Metaphorical explanations of the uniting	164
The declaration against them about their description of the Messiah	180
1. The argument against the Nestorians	180
i. The human nature of the Messiah	180
ii. The divine and human actions of the Messiah	196



viii	Contents	
i	ii. The will of the Messiah	202
2. 7	Γhe argument against the Melkites	218
	i. The two substances of the Messiah	218
	ii. The human body of the Messiah	222
i	ii. The appearance of the Word in the body of the Messiah	226
3.	The Argument against the Jacobites	238
	i. The Messiah both eternal and contingent	238
	ii. The transformation of the divine and human in the uniting	250
i	ii. Metaphors of the uniting	260
CO	CONCLUDING ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE THREE SECTS	
Not	res	278
Bibi	Bibliography	
	Index	



#### **PREFACE**

Early Islamic religious thought necessarily developed in a context of encounter with other faiths, since large sectors of the population of the Islamic empire held and continued to uphold beliefs that differed from those of their rulers. There were meetings between Muslims and others at all levels of society, in many different circumstances and over many centuries, with the result that important aspects of the religious thought of Islam were deeply shaped by issues and questions introduced from outside. The surviving literature from the long years of encounter provides an excellent insight into the various preoccupations of the different sides, as well as a first-hand record of the arguments they originated in attack and defence. In addition, it provides the basis for reconstructing the development and maturing of theological expression in Islam, and for understanding the progress of society under Muslim rule with its many client communities.

An important part of this literature is devoted to encounters between Muslims and Christians. Here, more acutely than anywhere else, disagreements over fundamental perceptions of God and his relationship with the creation produced fierce debates and exerted immense pressure upon religious exponents to demonstrate the rational character and coherence of the beliefs they advocated. The outcome was a wide range of arguments and forms of explanation that in elegance and sophistication rival any others in the history of interfaith encounters.

In this extensive literature, *The Refutation of the Three Christian Sects* by the third-/ninth-century Muslim Abū 'Īsā Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq stands out as the single most detailed, informed and comprehensive work by a Muslim against Christian doctrines from the whole early period of Islam. No rival for completeness appeared until the eighth/fourteenth century, when Ibn Taymiyya was provoked to write his *Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Maṣīḥ*. Abū 'Īsā's *Refutation* presents a detailed analysis and exposure of the central Christian teachings about the Trinity and the Incarnation as they were held by the main sects active in the early Islamic empire, known as Nestorians, Jacobites and Melkites. It is based upon a deep and wide acquaintance with Christian teachings, as thorough and scholarly as any from a Muslim we know. But it is also fuelled by a passionate concern to maintain belief in the



### x Preface

dominant Muslim principle of the absolute oneness of God and his complete distinctiveness from all other forms of existence. The whole work amounts to a stringent and exhaustively full demonstration of the supposed inadequacies of Christian doctrinal formulations, and is a brilliant example of a superior though forgotten mind at the height of its powers.

A few years ago I produced an edition and translation of the first part of Abū 'Īsā's Refutation in Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam, Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq's "Against the Trinity" (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications no. 45, Cambridge, 1992), where I also brought together the known facts about Abū 'Īsā himself, and attempted to place his work in its intellectual context. At that time I did not consider it necessary to include the second part since this had been edited with a French translation by A. Abel (Brussels, 1949), and was also accessible in E. Platti's edition and French translation of the fourth-/tenth-century Jacobite Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī's response (Louvain, 1987), in which the Refutation is quoted extensively and thereby preserved. But since Abel's edition is only available in a small number of duplicated copies and has mistakes in the text, and Platti's edition, though immaculate, gives the text as a series of quotations in the Christian work, where the shape and continuity of Abū 'Īsā's argument cannot be fully appreciated, I have now thought it appropriate to make an edition of the work itself, with an English translation. This has afforded the opportunity to add extra details about Abū 'Īsā's life to those given in the earlier work, though not to resolve fully the enigma of his attitude towards his own faith, and to place the Refutation against the background of contemporary Muslim and Christian debates about the Incarnation and the person of Christ.

In my earlier book I tried to show that by any estimation Abū 'Īsā was an unusual and exceptional scholar, and that this *Refutation* stands pre-eminent among the surviving records of Muslim-Christian encounters. My respect for him and his achievement remains undiminished, and indeed the further evidence I include in this book will hopefully strengthen this claim.

The preparation of the work has been assisted greatly by the staffs of the Orchard Learning Resources Centre, Selly Oak, Birmingham, and the Bodleian and Cambridge University Libraries, whom I gratefully thank. The Reverend Dr John Davies has read the Introduction and improved its style, while Carol Bebawi has patiently typed the English text and Susan Moore has painstakingly read through everything. I take pleasure in thanking them all for saving me from infelicities and inaccuracies. Those that undoubtedly remain result from my own oversight and lack of precision.

It is my hope that this edition and translation will make more widely available the remainder of the known extant works of a major though neglected scholar, and will contribute towards the deeper knowledge that Christians and Muslims require if they are to learn from their shared history and seek to transcend it.

David Thomas